

"Votes for Women," December 3, 1915.

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The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. IX. (Third Series), No. 404.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1915.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free 1½d.)

THE VICTORS



FIRST ELECTOR (after defeat of the Suffrage Amendment at the New York polls): "Well, mates, we've saved the home."

(With acknowledgments to the "New York World," in which this cartoon originally appeared.)

61-3-31

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

27, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. Telephone, Holborn 5880
Colours: Purple, White and Orange

Committee

Miss Lena Ashwell
Miss Bertha Brewster
Mr. Albert Dawson
Mr. Gerald Gould
Mr. Charles Gray
Mrs. Agnes H. Harben
Mr. Henry W. Nevinson
Mr. John Scurr (Hon. Treas. pro tem.)
Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mrs. Elaine Whelen
Mrs. Ayrton Gould (Hon. Secretary)
Major H. J. Gillespie (Hon. Treasurer)

THE CAMPAIGN

Friday, December 3; 7.45 p.m. — At Home. —
Onward Buildings, 207, Deansgate, Manchester. Speaker: Miss Emily Cox.

Sunday, December 5; 3.30 p.m. — Open Air Meeting. — Stevenson Square, Manchester.

Sunday, December 5; 8 p.m. — Public Meeting. — Pankhurst Hall, Hightown, Manchester. Speaker: Mrs. Hope Merrick.

Tuesday, December 7; 2.45 p.m. — Open Air Meeting. — Corner of Webber Street, New Cut. Speaker: Miss Mary Phillips.

Tuesday, December 7; 8 p.m. — Open Meeting. — U.S. Women's Club, Speaker: Mrs. Whelen.

Wednesday, December 8; 8 p.m. — Public Meeting. — Queen's College, Birmingham.

Friday, December 10; 7.30 p.m. — Public Meeting. — Spinners Hall, Bolton. Speaker: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. Chair: Mr. Thompson.

Wednesday, December 15; 8 p.m. — Members' Meeting. — 13, Suffolk Street, Birmingham.

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10 AND 11; FROM 3 TO 10 P.M. — CHRISTMAS SALE. — CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER. PROCEEDS TO BE DEVOTED TO U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB. (See page 77.)

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

92, Borough Road, S.E. Secretary: Miss M. R. Cochrane. Tel.: Hop 4172

Mrs. Scurr came to speak at our Tuesday evening meeting, but unfortunately our concert on Thursday fell through. Our members look forward so much to the Thursday night entertainment that we hate disappointing them. We shall be so glad if any of our readers who are willing to come down to sing, play, or recite to our members will send their names to Miss L. Fox, 19, Hornton Street, Kensington, the Hon. Secretary of our Entertainment Committee.

Our club is quite transformed this week. There is an air of excitement and hard work, for we are all busy making flannel shirts and khaki handkerchiefs. Our members gather round the club fire, and a great deal of hard work is got through. One member hemmed six handkerchiefs in one afternoon and was ready to start some more the next day. When we have enough handkerchiefs for the sale, we hope to make some to send as Christmas presents to all the soldiers and sailors on our Roll of Honour, in addition to some cigarettes and sweets. The subscription list is growing rapidly and many of our members have promised a second subscription next week. We are glad of all contributions, however small, from our readers and friends. We wish to thank Mrs. Hester for 5s. to be spent on the Babies' room; Mrs. Marshall for 10s.; Miss Dalgliesh for cakes; Miss Williams for papers; and Miss Mears for gramophone records, which came just at the right moment to give us a Gramophone Concert on Thursday night.

U.S. CHRISTMAS SALE

December 10 and 11: 3-10 p.m. — Hon. Sale Secretary: Miss Brewster, U.S. Offices, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

For full particulars of this important event see page 77.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS FUND For Relatives of Women's Club Members who are Serving with the Navy or Army

This is a fund, subscribed to by members of the U.S. Women's Club, as well as members and friends of the U.S., by means of which it is

hoped to send a Christmas present to every soldier or sailor who is a husband, father, brother, son, or sweetheart of any member of the Club. Will our readers subscribe?

ALREADY RECEIVED

	s. d.		s. d.
Miss V. Ballantyne	0 6	Miss L. Osborn	0 3
Miss Cochrane	5 0	Mrs. Simmonds	0 2
Mrs. Frenchorn	0 6	Miss Simmonds	0 2
Miss Gould	0 2	Miss Evelyn Sharp	5 0
Mrs. Hampshire	0 2	Mrs. Tate	0 2
Mrs. Hutt	0 1	Mrs. Watts	0 6
Mrs. Jackson	0 2	Miss Walford	2 0
Miss Joachim	1 0		
Miss H. Kiddell	0 3		
Mrs. McCall	5 0		
		19 1	

AMERSHAM AND BESHAM U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Drinkwater, "Fieldtop,"
Amersham Common

Good friends (not yet members) are doing their best to give help for our stall. Will this inspire members to rally round us by sending what they can and urging their friends to meet at the sale on December 10 and 11 at the Central Hall, Westminster? This is a rare opportunity to do a very big bit or a very wee bit for this work.

BIRMINGHAM U.S.

Organiser: Miss Elizabeth Jenkins,
13, Suffolk Street

Helpers are wanted to work up the meeting at Queen's College on December 8, and volunteers are wanted for the poster parade, which will leave the office at 3 o'clock on December 3, 4, 6, and 8. The next members' meeting will be held at the office on Wednesday, December 15, as this will be the last meeting before the holidays. Members are asked to make a special effort to attend.

GLASGOW U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Kelsall, 29, Queensborough
Gardens

A committee meeting was held at Dr. Chalmers Smith's on Tuesday, and a very interesting discussion on infant mortality and preventative measures, such as the starting of baby clinics in the East End, took place. It was decided that Dr. Chalmers Smith, Mrs. Kelsall, and Mrs. Crawford should be sent as delegates to interview Dr. Chalmers, the Medical Officer of Health for Glasgow, and he kindly accorded them an audience on Friday, 26th inst. The deputation was introduced by Miss Barker, an official health visitor, and Dr. Chalmers gave us a most courteous hearing. Reference was made by him to the fact that the Scottish Midwives' Bill has just been read for the second time, and the passing of this Bill (which has been shelved so many times) will be a great help to the Scottish Health authorities. The powers of the Registration Act were then discussed, and it was decided that the Glasgow U.S. should endeavour to be represented on the Local Committee which is being formed to promote schemes dealing with the welfare of mothers and children. At our committee meeting it was also decided that Mrs. Crawford should represent the Society at Bailie Alston's funeral, taking with her a wreath in the U. S. colours, in appreciation of the splendid work which he has always done for the cause of women.

KENSINGTON U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Postlethwaite, 47a, Earl's Court Road, W. Telephone: 926 Western

Among Mrs. Cobden Hirst's guests at the At Home on Thursday, December 2, are a number of soldiers from the Endell Street Hospital. It is hoped all the hostesses will do their best to bring friends and so make the afternoon a success. Mrs. Hutt reports having received between 40 and 50 acceptances; Miss Rock and Miss Oliver, two of the hostesses, have generously given 2s. 6d. each towards the tea; and many thanks are due to Miss Somers for her welcome gift of 1lb of farmhouse butter. The Christmas Sale will soon take place. Gifts for the Card and Calendar Stall are still wanted.

LIVERPOOL U.S.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Isobel Buxton, 111, Queen's Road

We shall hold our Equal pay for Equal work meeting early in the New Year. We want to make a big meeting of it, and shall invite all interested societies to join up. We need funds in hand for this and our other winter work, and shall be grateful for any donations. The Hon. Sec. hopes to meet the members at the Suffrage Club the first Thursday in each month, 8 p.m., at 18, Colquitt Street. Will those not known make a point of introducing themselves?

MANCHESTER U.S.

Onward Buildings, 207, Deansgate.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Hope Hampson

The United Suffragists opened their campaign in the slums on Wednesday evening, November 24,

with a meeting in the Manchester University Settlement. Although the audience was small, a very animated discussion took place, following Miss Graham's speech, and at the end of the meeting two new members were gained. We should like to thank all those who have sent donations and helped to organise the series, and hope all those who can will turn up to help with the forthcoming meeting on December 5 at the Pankhurst Hall, Hightown. A conference of all the Manchester suffrage societies has been held to discuss the action to be taken if the new Parliament Act Amending Bill is made an excuse for altering the Register. The U.S. were represented on the committee of the conference, and signed a joint letter to be sent to members of the Cabinet, &c., asking that the Franchise for Women be included in the measure when introduced.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND

Donations Received up to November 27, 1915

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Already acknowledged	1,878 19 0	Miss Joachim ... 12 10 0
Ledged		Proceeds of
		Meetings 4 0 11
Miss M.		Chadwick 1 1 0
		Miss Ada E. 0 5 0
		Farmer 0 10 0
Mr. and Mrs.		Gerald Gould 25 0 0
		Miss Winifred 0 2 6
		Holiday 0 5 0
		£1,927 18 5

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Miss Cochrane	0 10 0
Club Receipts (per Miss Cochrane) ...	0 15 6
Miss Ada E. Farmer	0 5 0
	£302 13 11

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

With the new Drinking Order, which came into effect last Monday, we may hope to have seen the last of the attempt to differentiate between women and men in the actual making of regulations to restrict the sale of intoxicating liquor. So long as these do not penalise one sex only—and that the less intemperate of the two—we are ready to welcome them as a long-delayed instalment of temperance reform, which, we venture to think, would not have had to wait upon a European war if the women of this country had been enfranchised as well as the men.

The Attack Upon Women Who Drink

At the same time, merely to deny to the people one of their chief modes of refreshment does not seem to us a particularly intelligent or helpful piece of legislation, unless it is followed up by some attempt on the part of the Government to provide them with decent and real "public" houses, where men and women and children can meet together and obtain refreshment without being compelled to indulge only in alcoholic drink, and that often of an injurious quality conducive to drunkenness. We think that men and women together, both armed with the vote, would be able to effect temperance reform that is constructive as well as destructive. And in this connection we should like to point out that even under present unfavourable conditions, every woman (or man, for that matter) who comes out of a public-house is not necessarily a drunkard, has not even necessarily been drinking at all. A great many women, now that children are forbidden to enter these places, go to the public-house to fetch the beer for their husband's or son's dinner. And when investigators like the Rev. Henry Carter, whose figures we discussed a fortnight ago, makes the discovery—as we believe he has at last succeeded in doing in one district—that more women than men are to be found in a public-house, may we suggest to him, in addition to the qualifying circumstances mentioned above, that at all times there are more women than men in the country, and that during a war this preponderance is naturally many times more noticeable?

The Parliament and Registration Bill

At the time of going to press no fresh particulars were available of the Government's postponed Parliament and Registration Bill, and no announcement had been made as to the date of its introduction. Rumours have been rife during the week as to its possible provisions, and we deal with these rumours and their relation to the future of Woman Suffrage in our leading article in this issue, in which we also quote the strong and definite opinion of the *Nation* that a settlement of the Franchise "will have to include a Woman's Enfranchisement Bill." Those of our readers who have not seen last Saturday's *Herald* should make a point at once of reading the vigorous and outspoken leading article in that journal, demanding the settlement of the women's question. Suffragists have been roused, in fact, all over the country by the mere suggestion that more votes may be given to men while women are left still voteless; and we give some account, on page 78, of the action that has been taken by the United Suffragists and other Suffrage Societies to give effect to this indignant apprehension.

Underpaid Women's Work

In an admirable article in the *Daily News*, last Monday, Miss Mary Macarthur forcibly puts the case for the amendment of the Munitions Act in the interests of the women. She gives instances of such sweated wages as those in "a certain southern town," where the fair rate for a woman is considered to be 7s. and 8s. weekly—And there is danger that under the Munitions Act such sweating may be stereotyped by legal sanction. Miss Macarthur further deals with the necessity for an amendment of the Act to make arbitration compulsory in the event of a dispute between the women and their employers. At present, where a powerful men's organisation demands arbitration, this is conceded within twenty-one days; with the women the thing may drag on indefinitely. Finally, she gives again the case quoted in our leading article last week, of the girls who were at first refused their leaving certificates because, for want of a woman assessor in the Munitions Court, they were unable to make it clear that it was on account of the gross insults of a foreman that they would not return to work. She adds the further shameful detail that the girls lost a week's work in any case, and were refused costs because "the girls had got their certificates, and surely they should be content!" Yet we believe that the average person is still under the impression that every woman munition maker has been placed on an equality with the men.

Child Labour

Until it has been established beyond proof that all the available adult woman's labour has been absorbed, we think it most regrettable that public men should continue to advocate the employment on the land of boys of school age. In the House of Lords, last week, Lord Selborne is reported to have said that "he was quite clear that it was more important that all the children who were physically strong enough to do so should be allowed to go out to work on the land than that they should continue in the school"; and Lord Lansdowne, although admitting that the matter was "very rightly left to the local education authorities," said that the employment of boys was "an experiment we should all like to see tried." Lord Lansdowne spoke, we presume, for the House of Lords; for we refuse to believe that the country wishes to see the experiment tried of mortgaging the future physical and mental strength of the nation. For this is what child labour means, apart from any sentimental objection we may have to the exploitation of childhood. And as long as our political leaders talk in this callous way of the employment of boys under fourteen, it is not surprising that firms doing Government work should feel justified in working girls of fourteen and fifteen for sixteen hours at a stretch, including night work—a fact which was elicited in the hearing of a summons brought against a glass manufacturer, we are glad to note, by the Home Office, of which we give particulars on page 79.

United Suffragists and their Club

Although we know that clubs are only palliatives, and that the State ought to provide decent homes and decent public-houses for the workers of the country, we venture to remind our readers of the United Suffragists' Women's Club at 92, Borough Road, Southwark, which was opened a year ago to provide a cheerful and comfortable club-house for women and girls, where they can meet and talk, and read the papers, and hear the war news, and buy good refreshments at cost price, with an occasional concert or Suffrage meeting thrown in. A Christmas Sale in aid of the Club funds is to be held on Friday and Saturday in next week, December 10 and 11, at the Central Hall, Westminster, of which full particulars will be found elsewhere. We appeal confidently to all who read this, to help that Sale in one or more of the ways indicated on page 77; for the Club has done much to help many women who have cause for sorrow and anxiety in these tragic days, and to provide healthy recreation for hard-worked factory girls, who would otherwise be driven to less wholesome places in search of distraction. Lady Cowans, whose husband, Major-General Sir John Steven

Cowans, K.C.B., is already known to our readers as Quartermaster-General of the Forces, has kindly consented to open the Sale on December 10, at 3.30.

Items of Interest

United Suffragists know the name and Suffrage work of Miss Postlethwaite far too well not to sympathise deeply with her in the loss of her nephew, who twice rode a distance of 100 miles to the coast, from his Australian ranch, to enlist, and was finally sent to the Dardanelles, where he has just been killed.

A Northern manufacturer, quoted in an article by "A. G. G." in the *Daily News*, says of women's war work: "The status of woman has changed finally and absolutely, and we may, among other things, regard the question of the suffrage as settled." It is pleasant to discover that we have won the vote, as M. Jourdain spoke prose, without knowing it.

Women motor-van drivers are much wanted, according to the *Times*, which also states that for one firm in London women are satisfactorily driving four-ton lorries.

The London County Council have now engaged women as tram-car drivers as well as conductors. Women conductors are also to be employed shortly, for the first time, at Stockport and at Liverpool, and will receive the same wages as those of men.

Professor Ramsay Muir, lecturing at Ancoats, last week, on "The Greatest of Wars," said that certain great movements were now in peril, and the first of these was the cause of real self-government—the government of the people by the people. Women must save this cause at all costs.

Dr. Louis C. Parkes, speaking at the Royal Sanitary Institute, London, estimated the total destruction of life in Europe in two years of war at nearly 20,000,000 persons. It is scarcely surprising that women should demand a voice in public affairs before a peace is concluded that may possibly lay the foundations of another war.

Miss Alberta Reed, the first woman to act as official tea taster for the United States, is said to condemn more tea every week than was ever thrown into Boston harbour. We wish she could come over here and test some of the tea that has been on the market since the war tax was put on.

Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., in the course of an article in the *Daily Sketch*, says: "There is less drunkenness than before the war. My experience in the trips I have made is that children are better cared for, and the women are more decent and clean."

Mr. Robert Parr, director of the N.S.P.C.C., spoke at Oldham, last Saturday, of the "rash and unwarranted statements with regard to excessive drinking among women." Making allowance for the large number of married men enlisted, the proportion of women drinkers was comparatively small, and of these the greater number were habitual drinkers before the war.

Mrs. Bramwell Booth said at the annual gathering of the social workers of the Salvation Army, in the Whitehall Rooms, that one or two soldiers' wives had been admitted into the Army's inebriates' homes, but the statements concerning the drunkenness of women had been much exaggerated.

BAILIE JAMES ALSTON, J.P.

The death of Bailie Alston, J.P., is a real loss to the Suffrage movement, and will be felt by all Suffragists, many of whom will remember him as leader of the famous deputation of Scottish Bailies to the Prime Minister, in July, 1913. Bailie Alston again came to London to plead the woman's cause, in February, 1914, when he spoke at the meeting of the Northern Men's Federation in the Memorial Hall. He was a prominent member of the N.M.F., his position as a distinguished Glasgow Town Councillor and prospective Labour candidate adding greatly to the value of his advocacy of Woman Suffrage. His name will be long remembered and his presence greatly missed in the fight for freedom that still lies before us.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in **VOTES FOR WOMEN** should be sent to The Editors, **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed. MSS. should, if possible, be typewritten.

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1915.

A CALL TO SUFFRAGISTS

The Government's Parliament and Registration Bill has not been introduced, as these words are written, but it appears clear that the main reason of its sudden postponement last week was the Unionist objection to the position in which the proposed prolongation of the existing Parliament would have left the Plural Voting Bill. It will be remembered that the Unionist objection to this Bill was, all along, that its passage without a redistribution of electoral areas would give a party advantage to the Liberals at the polls. It is now said, and on apparently good authority, that the difficulty may be met by fashioning an agreed measure, or, perhaps, two agreed measures, which shall put an end to the plural vote on the one side, and give redistribution on the other: and which, possibly, will also enfranchise everybody who has served in the Army or Navy during the war.

Now, whether these franchise changes are brought about now, or at the end of the war and before the next General Election, the resulting position will be not merely difficult but dangerous—more dangerous, we believe, than any recent position to the cause of Woman Suffrage. Unless the Suffrage societies speak out now, they may find themselves betrayed in so wholesale a manner and to so deadly an effect that all the long record of past betrayals will appear insignificant by comparison. Under cover of the war, which we are told is waged for freedom, and for which every part of the nation has made such terrible sacrifices, the enemies of freedom at home may score such a triumph as will go far to render useless the sacrifices made for freedom, whether in the war or in the long struggle for the enfranchisement of women. Let us explain:

Unless we are to have a general election in the midst of war, a Bill must be passed to prolong the life of this Parliament, which otherwise would, by the provisions of the Parliament Act, be unable to sit after January, 1916. But to make the occasion one for raising the franchise question is legitimate only if it is the whole franchise question which is to be raised. If the removal of the alleged electoral anomalies as they at present affect men is to mean, not the removal, but the setting-up, of a barrier against Woman Suffrage, it is intolerable that the thing should be contemplated, and doubly intolerable that it should be contemplated at a time when the common sacrifice makes any partisan injustice show like a blasphemy as well as an outrage. To alter for the worse the status of women in Great Britain is to level a direct and deliberate taunt at every woman of Great Britain who is labouring in hospital or factory or office—at every British wife who is mourning for her husband, and every British mother who is mourning for her son.

And the point is this. When one class of the community is excluded from rights, every accession of rights to the rest emphasizes that exclusion. Especially is this so in electoral matters. To enlarge the registers means trouble and expense; to redistribute them means trouble and expense. The whole gigantic force of

inertia is used, after any measure of electoral change, to resist a further change for a number of years, though, of course, this law does not operate over indefinite periods. But, as everyone with any practical knowledge of politics knows, manhood suffrage might mean an intolerable, an unthinkable, delay. The enfranchisement of soldiers and sailors, added to the already existing enfranchisement of most other men, would practically be manhood suffrage. We do not say that, on its own merits, this is not an excellent proposal: but, by excluding the service of women from its definition of "service," and by increasing the male vote while it ignored the claims and demands of women, it would insult half the nation and degrade the whole. And it would postpone the chances of woman suffrage for years. So, in a less degree, would the scheme of "no-plural-voting" plus redistribution; for that too, by altering the registers without including women in them, would make it doubly hard to secure a further alteration for the inclusion of women.

On what principle, it may be wondered, will it be possible to exclude women from any rearrangement of the franchise? Lord Haldane, in answer to a question at a public meeting, sent the written answer: "I fear there is no chance of the Suffrage question coming up effectively in Parliament just now. The Government are pledged not to introduce any contentious measure until the war is over, and no Franchise Bill could, consistently with this pledge, be allowed to be modified by the introduction of a Woman Suffrage amendment." What a strange view of "contentiousness!" There are two possible meanings of the word "contentious" in this connection. The Government pledge might mean that no legislation would be introduced which was contentious as between Liberals and Unionists. If this was what the pledge meant, there is no reason for keeping out Woman Suffrage, the chief obstacle to which in the past has been the fact that neither party was solid for or against it. Indeed, a Coalition Government provides precisely the right machinery for dealing with Woman Suffrage on a "non-contentious" basis. Again, the Government pledge might mean that no legislation would be introduced which would rouse serious opposition of feeling in the House or the country. If that was the pledge, it has been broken repeatedly. Moreover, a Suffrage measure which did not deal with women would in that case be the most contentious thing possible, as it would rouse to a passion of resentment every self-respecting woman and every fair-minded man in the country. So on this interpretation as on the other, there is nothing in the Government pledge that could possibly justify a Franchise Bill which excluded women.

It comes then to this—that, if women are excluded from such a Government Bill, it will not be in consequence of any pledge or in allegiance to any principle. It will be because they are women, and because Anti-Suffragists exploit the patriotic devotion of women and insult their votelessness by choosing a time of national stress and common sorrow to erect a new barrier against equality at home. The danger is great, whether Plural Voting and redistribution be treated separately from the "service" vote, or together with it. Any change in the Franchise which ignores women will weaken the women's chance. "Surely," said the *Nation* last week, "it is not too late to come to an honourable understanding on the Suffrage, which (be it well noted) will have to include a Woman's Enfranchisement Bill." That is the demand that the Suffrage Societies must unite to make if their long toil is not to be frustrated, if their passionate hopes are not to be degraded to despair.

BALLOT OR BILLET?

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence

The war has been so long with us that everything that happened before it began seems lost in the prehistoric past. It is only with an effort of memory that we bring ourselves back to the days when the political struggle was still uppermost in the public mind. Yet it is less than three years since the Government nearly went to shipwreck over their Franchise Bill, and only emerged from the storm by a shameless breach of faith with the women of the country. Since then the whole world has been turned upside down. The ballot has been forgotten. While men have exchanged it for bullets, women have been given, instead, billets.

There are some former suffrage advocates who are by no means displeased with the change. To them woman suffrage made its principal appeal as a bread-and-butter question. If women had the vote, that would enable them to break down the barriers to many employments and to get wages equal, or more nearly equal, to those commanded by men. The war seems to them to be achieving the same result in a different way. They see one by one the occupations hitherto reserved for men—on the railways, in the transport services, in shops and restaurants, in engineering works and elsewhere—being entered by women. And though they know many women are doing a man's work for a fraction of his wages, yet they are content because there are many women earning better money than they ever did before.

Equality the Essential Thing

There are some of us who are by no means so satisfied. We are glad, of course, that women's opportunities of employment are being enlarged. We are glad that some women are making better money. But we do not in the least regard these things as a substitute for the ballot for which we have fought. Much as we want women to have the vote for what it can do for them in the matter of employment, much as we want it for what it can enable them to do for men and women and children in matters of legislation, we want it far more because of the fundamental meaning which its possession carries with it. We want women to be enfranchised in order that they may receive thereby the hall-mark of absolute equality with men.

This question of equality is, in our minds, the very essence of the position. Hitherto there has been one dominant sex and one subject sex. Men and boys have been regarded as "the race," women and girls as subordinate beings, entitled only to such opportunities of life as are not inconsistent with their ministrations to men. From this original inequality all sorts of false values have sprung up. Property has been counted of more value than life. War has been resorted to as a means of settling differences of interest. Education has been of the wrong sort. It is time that once for all this dogma of inequality was broken up, and in its place was established the supreme truth of the equal sovereignty of the two halves of the human race.

From this standpoint we view the events of the present time with far less complacency. We see that women are being admitted to hitherto forbidden employments not because they are regarded as the equals of men, but because they are regarded as inferiors. The common view is that the essential service to be rendered to-day to the country is soldiering. This only the men can give. The women, it is said, since they can't do the really important thing, can either be nurses or can to some extent act as stop-gaps for the men who have been taken away. Thus the present position is not an approach to equality, but a substitution of one kind of inequality for another.

In opposition to this line of thought there will be no doubt some who will say, "It is more important to get concrete advantages than a

theoretical equality." But without this fundamental equality even the concrete advantages have no stability or permanence. We are at this very moment threatened with a new Franchise Bill which will give more votes to men while still withholding them from women. This Bill, if carried, will place women in a worse position than ever. And what of their industrial employment? How will it be when the war is over, when men come back from the army and from the arsenals and demand reinstatement? If women are still counted as inferiors in spite of all their sacrifices and labours, if they are still voteless, their plight will be bad indeed.

What, then, must women do? They must be vigilant and active. They must not allow any injury to women to be done without vigorous

protest. They must insist upon the new registration Bill being amended so as to enfranchise women, or at least so as to give no additional franchise to men. They must support to the utmost of their power those organisations of women and those suffrage newspapers which are still fighting the battle for women. And last, but not least, they must in their own persons refuse to accept any employment except at adequate remuneration.

Real Patriotism

Such action is highly patriotic. For nothing is of greater danger to our nation in its own hour of peril than the persistence of false values, and nothing of greater safety than the evolution of a healthy and upstanding womanhood.

U.S. CHRISTMAS SALE

In Aid of the U.S. Women's Club in Southwark

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10 AND 11; 3-10 P.M.

Admission: 3 to 6 p.m., 6d.; 6 to 10 p.m., Free

IN THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER

To be opened on December 10, at 3.30, by Lady Cowans

Our readers are reminded that next Friday will be the opening day of our two-days' Christmas Sale in aid of the United Suffragists' Women's Club, at 92, Borough Road, Southwark, S.E. MAKE A NOTE OF THESE TWO DATES, AND TELL ALL YOUR FRIENDS TO DO THE SAME.

The Way to the Hall.—The Central Hall, Westminster, is in Broad Sanctuary, close to Westminster Hospital, and opposite Dean's Yard. Omnibuses running between Victoria and Charing Cross pass close to the door. Nearest Underground stations: Westminster Bridge, and St. James's Park.

Tickets, 6d. each, can be obtained beforehand from Miss Brewster, United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C., or at the door.

To Those Sending Goods

All articles intended for the stalls (see list below), unless sent privately to the several stallholders, must be sent addressed clearly to Miss Brewster, United Suffragists, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C., and in either case must arrive not later than Thursday, December 9.

Perishable goods for the food stall must reach Miss Brewster on Thursday, December 9.

Flowers should be sent to the Central Hall, Westminster, on the days of the Sale.

To Those Attending the Sale

Bring all the money you can spare. You will get it back in two ways:—

1. In the pleasure of knowing that you are helping to bring healthy enjoyment of mind and body to the women and girls of South London, many of them real sufferers from the war.

2. In the actual goods you buy; for this is a **Useful Sale**, and you will be able to buy there what you really want, from your Christmas dinner to your butter and cheese for the week; from a child's frock to a book for a Christmas present.

We do not ask you to waste your money. We ask you to come and buy at our Sale what you would have to buy in any case.

SOMETHING ABOUT THE SALE

Among the attractions will be a palmist, perhaps two palmists. You can invite your friends to meet you there at tea or a light supper. A number of wounded soldiers from the Endell Street Military Hospital (which is staffed entirely by women) will be the guests of the United Suffragists.

The Sale will also form a meeting ground for

many Suffragists who, as a rule, are too busy to find time for rallies of this kind.

Other Societies

The following Societies have replied to our offer of co-operation, and will be represented at the Sale by stalls, the proceeds of which will be devoted to their own funds: The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Mansell Moulin, 69, Wimpole Street, W.1); the Church League, the Free Church League, the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, the Women's Freedom League, the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, the Actresses' Franchise League, the Women Writers' Suffrage League (Stationery Stall), and the International Suffrage Shop.

THE STALLS

The following are the U.S. stall-holders:—

Books.—Mrs. Robert Lynd and Miss A. Craies.

Sweets.—Mrs. Goodman.

Blouses and Children's Clothes.—Mrs. Elaine Whelen.

Toys.—Mrs. Hutt.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Comforts.—Mrs. Davies.

Christmas Cards and Calendars.—Kensington U.S.

Useful Articles.—Amersham U.S.

Farm Produce and Food Stall.—Miss Metcalfe.

Refreshments.—Miss Walford.

Parcels.—Miss Young.

Some of the Articles you are asked to send on or before December 9

Books (children's and grown-up), Christmas Cards, Calendars, Diaries, Indelible Pencils, Note-paper, Toys, small Shaving Mirrors.

Food: Tinned Fruits and other foods for soldiers at the Front. All kinds of Farm Produce—Butter, Eggs, Poultry, Potatoes, Fruit, Flowers, Cheese, Cakes, Bread, Sweets.

Blouses, Children's Clothes, Aprons, Overalls, Khaki pocket-handkerchiefs.

Knitted Garments, Socks, Comforters, Mittens.

ALL THESE ARE URGENTLY WANTED.

IF YOU CANNOT SEND US GOODS, SEND US MONEY

Thanks!

Thanks are warmly accorded to the following: Miss Eleanor Tyrrel, books; Miss A. Allen, babies' clothes; Mrs. Ratcliffe, child's dress; Miss Mears, book; Mr. W. L. George, books; Per Mrs. Hicks, 10s.; Miss Hadley, 10s.

SUFFRAGISTS

"To touch the Franchise for Men without granting the Franchise to Women would be a dishonour to Men as well as an injustice to Women, and would create a grave situation."—Joint letter from Suffrage Societies to the Prime Minister.

We do not yet know the text of the Government's Parliament and Registration Bill, which had not been introduced when we went to press, but enough has been said about it in the Lobby and the Press to justify the utmost vigilance on the part of all Suffragists. As we intimated in our last issue, some of the Suffrage Societies, including the United Suffragists, were quick in taking action; others rapidly followed suit, and a letter was drawn up and sent to the Prime Minister last Tuesday, which ran as follows:—

To the Rt. Honble. H. H. Asquith, M.P.

Dear Sir,—The statements which have appeared in the Press with regard to the Parliament and Registration Bill, taken in conjunction with Lord Lansdowne's announcement in the House of Lords on November 4, of a Government measure to revise the electoral register, give Suffragists grave reason for apprehension as to the intention of the Government so to deal with the franchise as to bring in large numbers of new male electors. We, the signatories of this letter, representing large bodies of Suffragists, feel that any attempt to touch the franchise for men without granting the franchise to women would be a dishonour to men as well as an injustice to women, and would create a grave situation. We therefore beg for a definite assurance from you, as the head of His Majesty's Government, that if such a measure is drafted, women, whose claim to enfranchisement has been not lessened but intensified by the war and all that it entails of suffering and service, shall be included in its provisions on equal terms with men.

We approach you in this way, being fully aware of the great pressure upon your time. But, failing a definite and satisfactory assurance from you upon the grave matter in question, we should feel obliged to ask you to be good enough to receive a deputation on the subject from representatives of our organizations, or to depute a Member of the Cabinet to receive us on your behalf.—We are, yours faithfully,

(SIGNED)

Barbara Ayrton Gould

(Hon. Secretary: United Suffragists.)

E. Sylvia Pankhurst

(Hon. Secretary: East London Federation of the Suffragettes.)

C. Despard

(President: Women's Freedom League.)

Jane Strickland

(Chairman: Free Church League for Woman Suffrage.)

Edith R. Mansell-Moulin

(Hon. Secretary: Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.)

M. Arncliffe Sennett

(President: Northern Men's Federation.)

May Whitty

(Chairman: Actresses' Franchise League.)

B. Gadsby

(Chairman: The Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.)

Susan A. Villiers

(Chairman: The Church League for Women's Suffrage.)

J. Beanland

(Hon. Secretary: Manchester Men's League for Woman Suffrage.)

H. M. Swanwick

(Hon. Secretary: Women's International League.)

Rosa M. Barrett

(Hon. Secretary: Irishwomen's Franchise Federation.)

Anna M. Haslam

(President: Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.)

United Suffragists' Office, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C., November 30, 1915.

OTHER SUFFRAGIST ACTION

Northern Men's Federation

In addition to this joint letter, the following

AND THE PRIME MINISTER

"To touch the Franchise for Men without granting the Franchise to Women would be a dishonour to Men as well as an injustice to Women, and would create a grave situation."—Joint letter from Suffrage Societies to the Prime Minister.

communication was addressed to Sir John Simon (who was announced last week as the introducer of the Bill), by Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, on behalf of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage:—

Dear Sir,—I have the honour to enclose you a resolution passed at a meeting of Edinburgh magistrates on Saturday. I am to respectfully emphasise the fact that the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage will most strenuously oppose any measure of Franchise Reform which does not include women on equal terms with men, and to point out that they are entirely dissatisfied that Mr. Asquith will give the electorate no opportunity of a mandate at the polls upon the question. The N.M.F. cannot admit the right of Parliament to enfranchise special groups of individuals without first appealing to the electorate for permission to institute fancy franchises, and I am to ask for your assurance that this will not be attempted.—Awaiting the favour of a reply, I am, yours obediently, M. ARNCLIFFE SENNETT.

The Resolutions

The resolutions enclosed ran as follows:—

In view of the rumours of a new Service Franchise Parliamentary Register and Lord Lansdowne's statement in the House of Lords on November 4 that "His Majesty's Government must be assumed to be held responsible," this meeting of Northern Men, while cordially agreeing with the principle suggested, yet declares:—

1. Its unalterable determination to oppose any readjustment or increase of the Parliamentary Franchise which does not include equality of franchise rights for women.

2. That women have shown a sufficient sense of courage, patriotism, and public spirit in the area of War, and in the hospitals, homes, and economic system of the United Kingdom to warrant their demands for the Vote.

3. That in view of these considerations and their heroic sacrifices in the National Crises, the perpetuation of their outlawry is particularly ungenerous and unjust.

4. That a Government that calls upon women to subscribe to Public Loans and Public Service cannot in justice withhold from them the rights that are or should be allied to public service.

5. That to take advantage of the woman's truce by ignoring their rights while increasing those of men is to be a distinct incentive to fresh and undesirable agitation.

6. That the Northern Men's Federation is not prepared to tolerate any more betrayals of the Woman's Suffrage cause, and it calls upon the Government to incorporate women in the New Service Franchise on equal terms with men, and thus put an end to the long campaign of fifty years' delayed justice which has disgraced our political sense of honour. (SIGNED)

W.M. BRUCE LINDSAY, J.P., Councillor, Edinburgh.

JOHN McMICHAEL, J.P., (Witness) Edinburgh.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies

The following letter appeared in the newspapers last Monday:—

Sir,—We have seen in the Press that fears have been expressed that the Government Parliament and Registration Bill will be equivalent to a manhood suffrage measure, to the exclusion of women. We cannot believe these fears to be well founded, for we are convinced that it would be impossible for such a Government as this and in such a time as the present to introduce a Bill fundamentally to alter the basis of the Parliamentary suffrage. We have, moreover, the definite promise of the Prime Minister given to all the suffrage societies in November, 1911, and reiterated in his place in Parliament in January, 1913, that in any Bill introduced by his Government for the extension of the Parliamentary franchise "a full and free opportunity" for the introduction into it, by an amendment, of women's suffrage should be afforded to Parliament.

This promise has never been redeemed, but it still holds good, and it must certainly bar the way to the introduction by the Government of manhood suffrage under circumstances which would preclude any chance of "a full and free opportunity" for the consideration of the claims of women to share in the privilieges as they share in the burdens of citizenship.

As is well known, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has suspended its ordinary political activities in the sense that it is not pressing for a Bill for the enfranchisement of women during this time of national crises, but it has not abandoned its principles nor the right to take action should necessity arise. Alterations of the franchise involving the continued exclusion of women would be the occasion for such action.—Yours, &c.,

MILICENT GARRETT FAWCETT (President).

HELENA AUERBACH (Hon. Treasurer).

EVELYN M. L. ATKINSON (Hon. Secretary).

RAY STRACHEY (Hon. Parliamentary Sec.).

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The East London Federation of the Suffragettes

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst also wrote to the Prime Minister on behalf of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes, reminding Mr. Asquith of his sympathetic promise to the East London deputation, last year (to give the case presented by them his "very careful and mature consideration") pointing out how women are suffering now from high prices, and how "the injustice of excluding them from enfranchise-ment becomes more serious every day."

TAX RESISTANCE AND THE WAR

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I should like to be allowed an opportunity to express my views with regard to the Women's Tax Resistance League having suspended its activities during the war.

I attended the initial meeting of this society, and was elected upon its committee. Immediately on the outbreak of war, the committee met, and I strongly urged the suspension of our work during the military and financial crisis which faced us, because I felt that money should not be expended upon the technicalities of Suffrage, but each in our own society should work for the abstract question of Votes for Women till the cessation of hostilities. It also seemed unwise to spend money upon forms of resistance unless protest meetings could also be held. The committee felt that this important question should be submitted to the members, and a meeting was immediately called, to which all London members, as well as provincial, Scotch, and Irish, were invited. A very keen and intensely interesting debate took place on this occasion, and, the vote being taken, it was decided by a very small majority to suspend activities during the war. Our decision was published in the papers, and our absent members were circularised as to the result.

During the years that I served upon the committee I took part in many sales and protest meetings, but I never felt capable of giving advice to registers with regard to the very tricky legal formalities connected with tax resistance. This we left to our exceedingly able Secretary, Mrs. Kinston Parkes, and to our Honorary Advisor, Mrs. Ayres Purdie, who was always most generous in giving us the benefit of her expert knowledge. Both of these ladies have every point of tax resistance at their fingers' ends, and, in order to make the position perfectly clear, and at the same time provide for the needs of our members, we published a letter in your valuable paper to the following effect: "Whereas

members of the W.T.R.L. have been in the habit of having advice free from our Secretary, we now recommend them to write to Mrs. Ayres Purdie, who, on payment of a small fee, is prepared to answer all inquiries." I believe, together with many leaders of thought, that the work now being done by women in every phase of national need will ensure for them their future political recognition.

Should this not be the case, I hope the work of the Women's Tax Resistance League will be at once resumed, when, as hitherto, no injustice in legislation affecting the taxation of women will be allowed to go unchallenged.—Yours, &c.,

ANNE COEDEN-SANDERSON.

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assaults on Little Girls

The *North Devon Journal* (October 28) reports case of a cattle drover, aged 68, charged before the Barnstaple Borough Bench (Mr. F. A. Jewell, the Mayor, and Messrs. A. J. Reavell and A. Bradford) with indecent assaults upon his little grand-daughter; and his grand-niece, aged 9½. The second charge was dismissed.

Sentence: Six months' hard labour.

Knocking Out a Wife's Eye

The *Daily Telegraph* (November 23) reports case of a man charged at Brentford Police Court with knocking out his wife's right eye in a fit of temper.

Sentence: Fined £5.

Assaults on Soldiers' Wives

The *Derby Daily Telegraph* (November 6) reports case of a collier indicted at Derbyshire Assizes for an indecent assault on a soldier's wife, described by the Judge as "an unprovoked assault on a perfectly decent and respectable woman."

Sentence: Three months' hard labour.

The *Morning Advertiser* (October 4) reports case of a Belgian china worker, charged at Marlborough Street Police Court before Mr. Mead, with improperly assaulting a soldier's wife in Hyde Park.

Sentence: Fined (under the Parks' Act) £4.

HEAVY SENTENCES

False Pretences

The *Times* (November 18) reports case of an engineer charged at the Central Criminal Court with obtaining money on false pretences by getting himself "clocked in" when he was not in the workshop. He obtained double wages on a Sunday by being "clocked in" this way for six hours.

Sentence: Twelve months' hard labour.

Fraudulently Obtaining 6d.

The *Morning Advertiser* (November 26) reports case of a labourer charged at the London Sessions before Mr. Wallace, K.C., with fraudulently obtaining credit for a meal worth sixpence at a temperance hotel. There were previous slight convictions.

Sentence: Three months' imprisonment.

Frauds on Women

The *Times* (November 18) reports case of a bookkeeper indicted at Manchester Assizes before Mr. Justice Low with obtaining money from various women through matrimonial advertisements. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: Eight years' penal servitude.

The *Manchester Guardian* (November 23) reports case of a sham lieutenant charged at Bristol Assizes with obtaining money by worthless cheques from various people, including a hotel proprietress.

Sentence: Five years' penal servitude.

We have so often pointed out to our readers the inequality of the sentences that are given in the Courts to offenders against person and property respectively, that the comparisons contained in the above table may be allowed to speak for themselves. With reference, however, to the particularly brutal assault upon a wife, resulting in the loss of her eye, which was punished by a mere fine of £5, it is interesting to compare the different view taken by Mr. Justice Ridley, at Manchester Assizes last week, of an accident to a boy engaged in manipulating a lithographic machine, which necessitated the amputation of his finger. The damages against his employer were assessed at £150.

Are we to believe (1) that a boy is worth £145 more than a wife; (2) that a finger is worth £145 more than an eye; or (3) that a man has a right to damage his wife up to blinding her, which the law does not allow to an employer? Still, we must remember that some magistrates would allow a man to knock his wife about for considerably less than £5; so perhaps, we are "creeping up." As *Punch* wittily put it, not long ago, in commenting upon the "No Treating" Order—a man has to pay £5 for treating his wife, but he can ill-treat her for 5s.!

OVERWORKED GIRLS

A paltry fine of £5, or in default thirteen days, was imposed last week in the case of a glass factory owner, summoned at West Ham Police Court by the Home Office for five infractions of the Factories and Workshops Act. It was stated by the Home Office inspector that the defendants had employed girls of between fourteen and fifteen years of age on some occasions as long as sixteen hours continuously and during the night.

For the defence it was urged that the firm was engaged on Government work, and it was thought the infractions of the Act might have been overlooked there as was done in other factories. (See report in *Morning Advertiser* of November 25.)

sired, it might be included in the forms of Intercession which will then be used.

The Prayer

"Heavenly Father, we heartily thank Thee for the response of women to the manifold demands for service to the nation at this time. Prosper them, we beseech Thee, in all that they undertake, and grant that whatsoever of fuller life, of greater honour, of worthier treatment should be their portion may be vouchsafed in answer to the faith and prayers of Thy people. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

EAST LONDON SUFFRAGETTES

First Annual Report

The first Annual Report of the E.L.F.S. (400, Old Ford Road, Bow, E., price twopence) makes very interesting reading. It is indeed an account of the gallant fight for the enfranchisement of women, and especially of working women, which Miss Sylvia Pankhurst has carried on in East London and which has rightly made her name one to conjure by at that end of the town. In addition, the report gives details of the relief work carried out by the Federation since war broke out, together with photographs which help to make this little publication a human document rather than an official report. It is well worth twopence.

COMING EVENTS

The Women's Freedom League will hold a public meeting in St. George's Vestry Hall, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, on Wednesday, December 8, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mr. George Francis on "Food Adulteration and Infant Mortality," and Miss Nina Boyle. Admission free.

Sir Lawrence Gomme, F.S.A., will lecture on "Imperial London" at the International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, December 8, at 4.30 p.m.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a Votes for Women Rally at the Bijou Theatre, 3, Bedford Street, Strand, on Sunday, December 5. Tea, 3.15 to 3.50 p.m. Speeches at 4 p.m. by Mr. Laurence Housman, Mrs. Tanner, and Mrs. Mustard. Admission free.

In aid of the International Suffrage Shop, Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., will lecture on "When Peace Comes," on Thursday, December 9, at 7.30 p.m., at the Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand.

The United Suffragists will hold a Christmas Sale at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Friday and Saturday, December 10 and 11, from 3 till 10 p.m. Proceeds to be devoted to the U.S. Women's Club. See pp. 75 and 77.

NOW READY

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THE SKY PILOT

H. W. Nevinson

A POEM FOR CHRISTMAS, 1915

Gerald Gould

FLAMES ACROSS THE SEA

Evelyn Sharp

THE LESSON OF THE WAR

John Scurr

HOW LONG! OH PRINCE OF PEACE, HOW LONG!

Philip Snowden, M.P.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Robert Williams

NOVELISTS AND THE WAR

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

MR. ARTHUR PONSONBY, M.P. Lecture, "When Peace Comes," at Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, Thursday, December 9, at 7.30 p.m. Admission free, reserved seats 1s., from International Suffrage Shop, 5, Duke Street, Adelphi, W.C.

THE FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION will have a Stall at the Christmas Sale at the Central Hall, Westminster, on December 10 and 11, 3-10 p.m. Goods for sale will be most thankfully received, especially comforts for soldiers, the wounded, and prisoners of war. Also children's clothes and toys, and fancy goods for Christmas gifts. Stallholders: Mrs. Edwards, Miss Norbury, and Mrs. Mansell-Moullin. Please send early to 69, Wimpole Street, W.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE announce a Votes for Women Rally at the Bijou Theatre, 3, Bedford Street, Strand, on Sunday afternoon, December 5. Speakers: Mr. Lawrence Housman, Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Tanner, and Mrs. Mustard. Tea, 3.15 to 3.30 p.m. Speeches, 4 p.m. Admission free; collection. Reserved seat tickets from the W.F.L. Offices, 144, High Holborn, W.C. 1s. each.

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TO GIRLS seeking a useful and attractive calling. Anstey College for Physical Training and Hygiene, Erdington, Warwickshire, offers a full teachers' training in physical culture, including Swedish educational and medical gymnastics, dancing in all its branches, indoor and outdoor games, swimming, hygiene, anatomy, physiology, &c. Good posts obtained after training.

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AT YOUR SERVICE.—BEAVEN'S LAUNDRY, 90, Lavender Road, Clapham Junction, S.W., collect and deliver by own vans, motor service, in all districts from Wimbledon to Westbourne Park. May we call on you? Family work only.

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